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and pave the way for the abstract. As a whole, this work more nearly fulfills the need for a text-book of economics for secondary schools than any that has yet been prepared.

DR. TRAVIS' "History of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty" ¹ gives a full and accurate account of the causes leading up to, and the conditions attending the negotiations of this much mooted instrument. This is followed by an equally detailed history of the controversies to which the convention has since given rise. On the whole the author's conclusions are favorable to the treaty; in the first place because, in his opinion, it kept Great Britain and the United States from going to war over the matter of the control of the isthmus, and secondly, because it provides in the best possible way for the neutralization of the interoceanic canal. Now that England and the United States have at last learned to understand each other and finally come to comprehend the reciprocal provisions of the contract, Dr. Travis thinks they should retain the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and live up to its terms. The author's attitude is rather that of the accurate historian than that of the political philosopher, and on this account immediate rather than ultimate causes and consequences are emphasized in the argument.

REVIEWS.

Growth of Nationality in the United States: A Social Study. By JOHN BASCOM. Pp. ix, 213. Price, \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899.

The title of the book is somewhat misleading; it is not strictly a study of the forces which have brought about nationality, but rather a study of the obstacles which these forces had to overcome. The author considers not so much "the growth of national life under the constitution," as "the divisions which were incident to the conditions under which the constitution was formed . . . or which grew up later under its operation" (p. 7). These divisions—obstacles to the growth of nationality, rather than forces which produced it—were of four sorts: (1) Strife between states and the general government; (2) strife between groups of states; (3) strife between departments of government; (4) strife between classes. Besides these subjects, one chapter is devoted to the Supreme Court, and one to a brief summary of the main conclusions.

¹ *The History of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.* By IRA DUDLEY TRAVIS, Ph. D. Publications of the Michigan Political Science Association, Vol. III, No. 8. Pp. 312. Price, \$1.00. Ann Arbor, January, 1900.

1. Strife between states and the federal government was the natural result of the reluctance with which the states gave up their semi-independence. At one time and another these conflicts have extended to every part of the country. The whiskey rebellion, the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, the Hartford convention, the attempt of Ohio to tax the United States bank, the Cherokee troubles, nullification in South Carolina, resistance to the fugitive slave law in Wisconsin, the McLeod case in New York, are reviewed in order, as examples in point. The result has been such that we are "no longer in danger of smothering the national life by local governments" (p. 44).

2. Under the heading, "Strife Between Groups of States," the slavery question is reviewed. From 1789 to 1820, the bearings of slavery became visible and undeniable; 1820-1845 was a period when "the moral convictions of the country were made up;" the third period marked the passing of the "old equilibrium" (p. 51). The author's treatment of the slavery conflict may be briefly stated as follows: The constitution recognized slavery as a local institution, but slavery "defines a social type" so distinct as to involve national character. It cannot live as a local institution; if hemmed in, it dies. Expansion and ultimate possession of the nation was necessary therefore to the very existence of slavery. In this effort it met the expansive power of the free North. A series of compromises were arranged, but since compromises on moral questions cannot settle anything, it was always ultimately a question of all or nothing. In this life and death struggle the South held fast to the letter of the law, in which it was strong; the North depended for justification on profound moral principles which "had been sacrificed in the constitution," and constantly ruled out of order in discussion. An unwillingness to sacrifice the constitution for a great moral principle protracted the struggle unduly; on this rock Webster and Clay split. Not until the newer generation of Seward and Lincoln, who perceived that moral principles were more than constitutions, did the North take a consistent and irrefutable position. The issue was war.

In reconstructing the "subdued states," the safety of the nation "admitted of no other doctrine than that it itself, as expressed in the general government, must settle the terms of peace" (p. 95). Congress acted on that doctrine, though the Supreme Court still held to the "form of things—a form that had broken up and passed away" (p. 96). The Slaughter House decisions have properly restrained the centralizing tendencies set in motion by the civil war.

3. The most important strife between departments occurred during and following the civil war. But the proper relation of departments

was not permanently disturbed. Too much stress has been laid on independence of the departments; harmony is more important.

4. Strife between classes is the "most penetrative" and "inimical to national life" of all. In it we reach the "great disintegrating causes in society" (p. 133). "This is the fundamental question of national life: whether, its terms being advantageously settled, that life can expand under them and a people be thoroughly integrated . . . by vigorous and prosperous growth" (p. 133). The basis of individualism in industry, which has been accepted without question, is freedom of contract; but we are learning that this principle must take on serious limitations, if we are to move freely forward "into those complex states of society in which personal liberty must often be waived in one direction in order that it may be more fully secured in other directions" (p. 136). Some limitations have already been made. The clause in the constitution prohibiting states from impairing the obligation of a contract does not prevent a state from making a bankrupt law (*Ogden v. Saunders*), nor enable a state to grant away essential powers of government (*Charles River Bridge Case*), nor interfere with the power to pass laws relating to the safety, health or morals of the community (*License Cases*), nor prevent the state from fixing maximum rates (*Munn v. Ill.*). This tendency toward a wise limitation of individual freedom has been checked by the courts, (1) by depriving the Interstate Commerce Commission of the right to fix future rates; (2) by denying to the federal government the power to lay an income tax; (3) by usurping legislative power through the use of injunction. These three matters the author discusses at length, criticising the courts severely for resisting the obvious trend of social forces.

The part of the book dealing with conflicts between classes is the most valuable, and of this part the discussion of the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the income tax decision, and "legislation by injunction," is the most interesting and forcible. The author's views on questions of governmental activity are well known, and he has made no change in them in his latest book. Exceptions might be taken to the statement that the reaction after the war of 1812, in favor of the national government, "created the Whig party" (p. 33); that the constitutional compromises on slavery were "more sagacious than wise" (p. 48); that Clay (and Webster) "failed" (p. 81); that the gist of the *Dred Scott* decision was that "the black man was possessed of no rights which the white man was bound to respect," and that the decision was "an exhaustive effort to divest the black man of all civil rights" (p. 87). That there is any essential distinction between strife between states and the federal government,

and strife between different sections, in American history, may also be doubted; sectionalism, not stateism, was the basis of most of these struggles. The author leaves the impression that there has been no reaction from the decision in the case of *Munn v. Ill.* (p. 154). That case decided that a state legislature might fix maximum rates and be the sole judge of reasonableness; the court has since assumed for itself the right to determine reasonableness. (*Dow v. Beidelman*, 125 U. S. 680; *Reagan v. Farmers' Loan and Trust Company*, 154 U. S. 362; *Smythe v. Ames*, etc., 169 U. S. 466.)

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English Political Philosophy from Hobbes to Maine. By WILLIAM GRAHAM, M. A., Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy at Queen's College, Belfast. Pp. xxx, 415. Price, 10s. 6d. London: Edward Arnold, 1899.

Early in the present century it became evident to thinking minds that philosophy without science was barren. This was a protest against so-called "speculative philosophy." It led to an eager pursuit of science to the neglect of philosophy. Now, however, the world of thought is coming to recognize the further truth that science without philosophy is meaningless. A renewed interest in philosophical study marks this change. The volume by William Graham on "*English Political Philosophy from Hobbes to Maine*" is indicative of this new point of view within the domain of politics.

In presenting a system of political philosophy two well-defined courses are open to the writer. He may proceed independently and discuss in their logical order the fundamental problems of government and administration with the object of outlining a complete system of political theory, or he may set forth his own views through a discussion and criticism of the views of those who in the past have written upon the same problems. Professor Graham has chosen the latter method. Through an exposition and criticism of the chief works of the English writers on political philosophy, viz., Hobbes, Locke, Burke, Bentham, J. S. Mill, and Sir Henry Maine, he develops "something like an introduction to political science."

To the author a study of these six thinkers is sufficient for the presentation of all important theories and methods, since their works sufficiently illustrate the different schools of political thought—Conservative, Liberal, Radical, and even Socialist, and at the same time represent the several methods of discovering political truth—induction and deduction.